*Practical Knowledge:* Another area of analysis of subject constitutions connected to the hitherto discussed aspects is practical knowledge. This is the term for various kinds of knowledge that form a basis of meaning for social practices; practical knowledge flows into practices while at the same time being produced by them (see Reckwitz 2004: 320). Knowledge is therefore not understood as a given capability for action, rather it can only be reconstructed in its processuality, i.e. in connection with practices. Knowledge of this kind is "structured via differentiations which also provide the context for how specific things should be interpreted in a practice and dealt with practically"[24] (Reckwitz 2010: 193). These differentiations thus give orientation for what is 'correct' or 'discrediting' (see ibid.: 194). They represent codes that are often constructed in a binary fashion, but can also be more complex and comprise entire systems of differentiations. For the examination of subject constitutions, it is necessary to reveal the codes inherent in practical knowledge that determine what the subject 'is' and should be. This also includes pursuing the question in how far different codes that shape culturally desirable or also rejected subject models overlap in subject constitutions or compete with each other.

These processes that shed light on the dynamics of identity constructions direct the attention to the interplay of processes of subjectification and subjectivation, which in each case articulates itself empirically in different ways. This will be illustrated in the following case studies using examples of practices of language choice, diet, remembering and commemorating as well as gender-specific spatial representations.

## 5.2 Sustainable Everyday Eating Practices from the Perspective of Spatial Identifications

*Rachel Reckinger*

Food plays an important role in everyday-cultural practices due to the fact that it constitutes a daily necessity, that it is recurrent and that it is subject to choice – even though that importance is reflected unevenly by individuals. Furthermore, it is assumed that as much as 50 % of environmental effects are due to the consumption patterns of individual households (see EEA 2012); a major part of this is food (see EEA 2005), particularly because of its means of production (agricultural manufacturing processes), its distribution (global transport routes and commercial outlets), as well as the demand and the preferences for specific foods on the part of the consumers (orientation of product processing, choice and marketing). This case study deals with

**24** | Personal translation of: [ist über] "Unterscheidungen strukturiert, die auch den Rahmen dafür bieten, wie konkrete Dinge in einer Praktik zu interpretieren und wie sie praktisch zu handhaben sind."

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the everyday appropriations of more or less 'responsible' eating habits – analysed as an ensemble of plural ways of how people live different understandings of sustainability. This perspective makes recourse to the question of subject constitution by focusing on the diversity of everyday practices and the *governmental self-relations*. Here the *subject* – with its various self-technologies of alimentary reflexivity, which is unevenly developed and follows different priorities and constraints – is seen in a dynamic connection with its *discursive practices*, its more or less *implicit knowledge* as well as the *spatial materiality* of food itself (for the terms see section 5.1). The latter refers to the awareness and the practical attributions of meaning of the geographical origin as a relational context of food production. Implicit knowledge refers to classification systems for the ideal of "a 'good' diet/way of eating for our society" as well as to the selection criteria for food relevant in everyday contexts. Finally, relevant discursive practices comprise reasonings for and opinions on the significance of certain criteria in the choice of food, while the interplay between ideal and reality sheds light on different understandings of sustainability.

Sustainable everyday eating practices[25] are understood as a pragmatic set of decisions that will differ considerably depending on the "daily life that people lead"[26] (Kudera/Voß 2000), which in turn will have its very particular requirements determined by milieu-specific resources, gender relations, life stages and age (see Brunner 2007), as well as by divergent subjective values, priorities and general outlook on life (see Herde 2005). All of these are particularly significant in long-term observations (see Jaksche 2005). The approaches developed by Herde and Brunner have shown themselves to be especially helpful when discussing the three analytical pillars of sustainability – the ecological, the social and the economic – on the level of specific consumer practices, as they combine features of the consumed food with individual everyday-cultural practices.

The term of sustainability was not expressly mentioned in our surveys for methodological reasons: on the one hand, we wanted to avoid effects of social desirability in order to arrive at an understanding of emic food-related priorities and criteria of everyday action as well as of the spatial context relating to the chosen form of diet with its potential to shaping people's identity. On the other hand, the goal was to establish, without prejudging the outcome, whether 'responsible' food consumption is more personally, socially, ecologically, economically or geopolitically motivated. To achieve this, we first identified quantitative indicators for documenting possible food-related patterns of sustainability. This survey (University of Luxemburg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey) was

**25** | Sustainable eating practices in general are for instance defined as "*appropriate to one's needs* and *adequate to everyday life*, *socially differentiated* and *wholesome*, *low-risk* and *environmentally sound*" (personal translation of: "*bedarfsgerecht* und *alltagsadäquat*, *sozialdifferenziert* und *gesundheitsfördernd*, *risikoarm* und *umweltverträglich*") (Eberle *et al.* 2006: 1, italics in the original; see Sedlacko/Reisch/Scholl 2013; SDC 2009).

**26** | Personal translation of: "Alltägliche Lebensführung."

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supplemented in a second step with qualitative interviews (ibid. – qualitative survey) that aim to provide insights into the meanings and values behind these indicators. This in-depth approach was designed to ultimately reveal the everyday-cultural priorities, criteria, legitimations and consumption strategies in the field of food and eating practices – in short: the performative ways of subjectivation – in a perspective of spatial identifications.

### 5.2.1 Features of Sustainable Food Consumption

The quantitative indicators for lived patterns of sustainability that were developed are either connected to the individual dietary practices and assessments or directly to the characteristics of the consumed foods.

#### Knowledge about the Geographical Origin of a Selection of Foods Used on a Daily Basis

The product categories considered in the survey comprise beverages as well as meat and vegetable foods *used on a daily basis*[27] and available on the retail market, originating from international, regional, industrial or non-industrial production contexts, both from biological or conventional manufacturing, i.e. demanding a conscious decision on the part of the customer when there is a choice of several comparable products. We investigated the importance generally attributed to the 'geographical origin' of these foods – without introducing categories such as familiar *produits du terroir*, local producers, farmers' markets etc. which in media and advertising are connoted as convivial and vigorous symbols of authenticity and tempting delicacies (see Reckinger 2012b). What interested us more was the question whether we can assume that consumers reflect on the production contexts of commonly consumed foods and whether the knowledge about their origin also sharpens people's awareness of the conditions of food production as agriculturally and economically highly transformed consumer products with global implications – in short, the ecological, economical and social production costs of food. What understanding do consumers have of the entaglement of different major vested interests in the field of food production on which they could indeed bring their influence to bear via their consumer choices?

The interviewees' high rates of affirmation show that the geographical origin of food is important to them. However, the origin is systematically rated higher in Luxembourg than in the border area, apart from fruit juices, possibly because Rhineland-Palatinate is a fruit and fruit juice producing region, which already points to a cognitive shift in response behaviour from the general question of 'geographical origin' to the specific understanding of 'regional products', which is also evident in the interview material (see below).

**27** | This draws on the website http://www.foodmap.lu, accessed 20.05.2012, which was created by the luxembourgish *Office national du Tourisme* and the *Ministère des Classes Moyennes et du Tourisme* and lists all regional producers subsuming them in product families.

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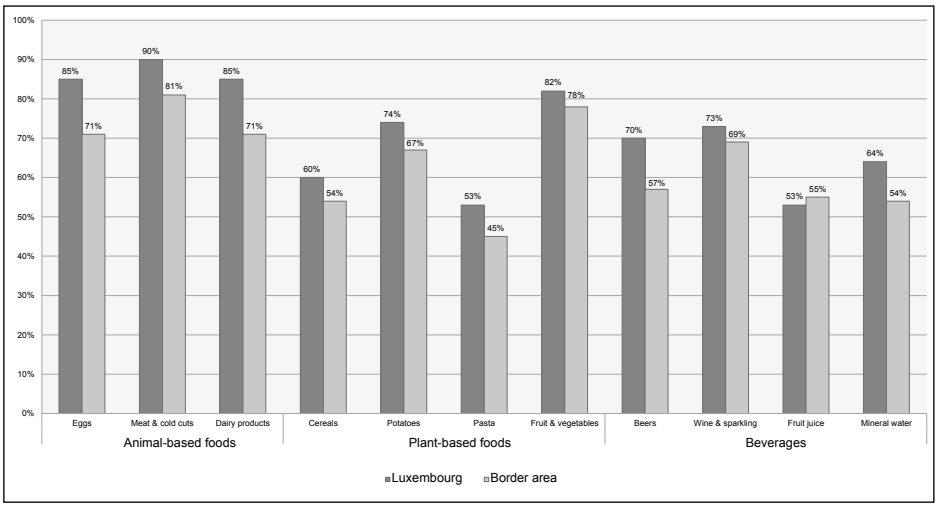


*Figure 1: Is the geographical origin of the following foods important to you? Affirmation in percent (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)*

Statistically, the origin is considered most important for all animal products as well as for one vegetable category.[28] The former are subject to regulations and controls to meet specific standards of hygiene; trust, which consumers seem to associate with social and geographical 'proximity', plays an important role here. Fruit and vegetables, by contrast, is the food category which is constructed as the emblematic element of a 'healthy' lifestyle; its direct connection to agriculture, i.e. localization, seems to be self-explanatory. But this connection is also present for cereals, potatoes and wine[29] whose origin is, however, considered by the respondents as significantly less important. A product's strong symbolic charge therefore comes with a high degree of valuation of the knowledge about its origin.

## Subjective Importance of Foodstuff Attributes

Following the *criteria of possible sustainability inherent to the foods themselves* emphasized by Herder (2005) und Brunner (2003), we also investigated the *subjective importance* that the respondents assign to these attributes.

**28** | Meat and cold cuts: 83 % within the border area average; fruit and vegetables: 79 %; eggs: 76 %; dairy products: 75 %.

**29** | This statement refers to the average of the population. As soon as more specific interest groups with typical preferences are considered (e.g. men and wine, see Reckinger 2012a), this balance shifts. The general principle, however, that the appreciation of a foodstuff increases proportionally to that of the knowledge of its origin and production context remains unchanged (see Reckinger 2011; 2007a; 2007b).

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There is for instance a strong consensus that *seasonality* of fruit and vegetables is important (agreement in survey area: 79 %). The sections of the population that attach particular importance to this tend to be elderly people as well as women. In Lorraine the consensus on this question is significantly above average (87 %), while in Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland it is below average (70 % respectively).

*Fair trade* as an indicator of a sensitivity for social justice and cultural diversity is seen as significantly less important, with more value being attached to it in Luxembourg than in the border area. The product group attracting the highest degree of affirmation is that of coffee and tea: in Luxembourg 61 % and in the border area 50 % of the respondents state that the fair trade attribute is important with coffee and tea, among them in particular older people and men. Conversely, 40 % of the respondents in the border area and 29 % in Luxembourg consider 'fair trade' in none of these products important. Also in the interviews, fair trade foods were seldom mentioned spontaneously; one person did not even know what it meant: "What do you mean? Products for the poor?!" [30] (female, 66, French, Luxembourg).

Finally, we compared per region the subjective importance of the sustainability indicators *from organic farming* and *from regional production* as well as the pragmatic-egocentric attribute *good value*. Here we see a marked difference between Luxembourg and the border area: while in the first sample, 'regional origin' is, almost exclusively, mentioned most frequently as being most important (apart from coffee and tea: 'good value'), in the border area, it was the item 'good value' that ranked first without exception. 'Regionality', however, features nine times[31] in second place in this sample, while 'from organic farming' is given four times as the second most important criterion.

In both samples, products from organic farming feature not higher than in second place (in total eight times), but mostly in third place (16 times), which suggests that dietary decisions oscillate primarily between the attributes 'regional origin' and 'price-quality ratio'. The interview material (see below) confirms this trend.

### 5.2.2 Interpretations of 'Responsible' Eating Practices

We were able to access everyday-cultural legitimations for a 'responsible' diet via an open-ended question in the qualitative interviews: "What do you consider to be a 'good' diet or a 'good' way of eating for our society? What does that mean for you?" In the following, this *ideal* is contrasted with the criteria and priorities relevant to daily dealings with food (*practice*): "What do you consider important when choosing the food you buy?" As we will see below, the results clearly show that the spatial context relating to the foods in question provides a meaningful

**30** | Personal translation of: "Les produits pour les pauvres, c'est ça?!"

**31** | In the border area, 'regionality' came in second place for the following foods: meat and cold cuts, dairy products, potatoes, pasta, beer, wine, coffee and tea, juice, mineral water.

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identification; this point is discussed at the end of this section separately via the interview question "Do you consider the area from which your food comes to be important?".

### Comparison of Dietary Ideal and Practice

In the analysis, the transcribed responses per interview question were coded according to argumentative units (see section 2.4) in order to bring out more or less transversal strands of argumentation in the material.[32] The topical complexes presented here deal in particular with self-referentiality (51 % of all arguments for the ideal and 36 % for the practice), as well as with the origin of foods (50 % for the practice and 28 % for the ideal).

When describing an ideal of 'good' diet/way of eating for society, interviewees relate to a self-defined norm that as a subjectification (identity options) is connected to possible modes of subjectivation (identity designs). Differences between individuals notwithstanding, the prominent self-referential statements show that a 'good' diet/way of eating "for society", as formulated in the interview question, was understood for the most part as 'good' diet/way of eating "for me". By contrast, self-referential considerations are somewhat less significant in those assessment and selection practices that focus on the origin of foods. Rejections comprise passive 'not giving it much thought' (which applies more to the ideal and suggests low relevance for everyday life) or active, explicit distrust (which occurs more frequently for the practice and points to a higher identitary significance). The influence of children in the household is in both questions the same (3 %); it can be rated positively as well as negatively. For instance:

"The kids have meanwhile all left home, so I don't need to buy stuff for the kids that's really not good for me"[33] (female, 48, German, Saarland).

Or the opposite:

"Recently, precisely because my kids asked for it, I prepare much more vegetables than I used to. Everything: uncooked, cooked and stewed vegetables"[34] (male, 42, Belgian, Wallonia).

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**32** | In the analysis of all qualitative statements, the percentages represent the proportional ratio of the individual arguments in the discourses between each other, and the large amount of low percentages show the broad range of issues that were relevant to the interviewees, since they were broached spontaneously.

**33** | Personal translation of: "Die Kinder sind alle aus dem Haus mittlerweile, deshalb muss ich keine Sachen mehr für die Kinder kaufen, die für mich gar nicht gut sind."

**34** | Personal translation of : "Ces derniers temps, parce qu'il y avait une demande de la part de mes enfants, je cuisine beaucoup plus de légumes qu'avant. De toutes sortes: des crudités, des légumes cuits."

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In the following, the two patterns mentioned most frequently, i.e. self-referentiality and origin of foods, are discussed individually.

| | ***Ideal* of a 'good' diet for society** | ***Practice* of criteria in food choice** |
|---|---|---|
| Ratios of degressive argumentational strands in the interview responses | Self-referentiality (51 %), among which: | Self-referentiality (36 %), among which |
| | Health-oriented nutritional value (14 %) | Low or moderate price (11 %) |
| | Balanced and varied (12 %) | Has to taste good (7 %) |
| | Has to taste good (7 %) | Fresh products (5 %) |
| | Home-prepared and -cooked (7 %) | Without chemical additives (3 %) |
| | Without chemical additives (6 %) | Health-oriented nutritional value (3 %) |
| | Less meat (3 %) | Home-prepared and -cooked (2 %) |
| | Fresh products (1 %) | Pleasure in the freedom of choice (2 %) |
| | Eating according to one's own culture (1 %) | Balanced and varied (1 %) |
| | | Long shelf life (1 %) |
| | | Personal testing of quality (1 %) |

*Figure 2: Argumentational strand "self-referentiality" in the responses to the comparative questions about the* ideal *of a 'good' diet for society and the* practice *of criteria in food choice (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – qualitative survey)*

In the *self-referential* arguments which were developed in the answers to both questions, when discussed in terms of the ideal, health-oriented nutritional value as well as self-disciplining balance and variety were put forward as a priority – in line with what political campaigns have been calling for (see Reckinger *et al.* 2011). On the practical level, by contrast, nutritional value plays a very minor role and the aspiration to balance and variety, *a priori* appropriate and hedonistically realizable, is even less important. Instead, they are supplanted by the desire for a

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low or moderate price, i.e. a self-referential argument *par excellence* that ignores all processes in the food sector prior to the individual act of buying and merely aims at an individual cost-profit calculation, something that becomes evident in the often recurring expression "value-for-money ratio" (each time interpreted according to individual standards). In addition, the hedonistic-subjective expectation of good quality – empirically understood as tasty food – occupies a relatively high position in the otherwise rather normative catalogue of discussed food-related ideals. This is also given a certain amount of priority in the practical perspective and is linked to the three arguments of pleasure in the freedom of choice, the expectancy of a long shelf-life and the possibility to personally test the quality of the foodstuffs. In particular fruit and vegetables are handled for this purpose – but when other people are observed doing this in a shop it is considered unhygienic and inappropriate.

| | ***Ideal* of a 'good' diet for society** | ***Practice* of criteria in food choice** |
|---|---|---|
| Ratios of degressive argumentational strands in the interview responses | Origin of foods (28 %), among which: | Origin of foods (50 %), among which: |
| | Regional products (11 %) | Regional products (15 %) |
| | Organic products (3 %) | Fair to the producer (8 %) |
| | Seasonal products (3 %) | Pollution through transport (5 %) |
| | Good products from one's own garden (2 %) | Mistrust towards organic farming (4 %) |
| | Better taste when origin is known (2 %) | Organic products (4 %) |
| | Mistrust towards organic farming (2 %) | Good products from one's own garden (3 %) |
| | Pollution through transport (2 %) | General sensitivity to origin (2 %) |
| | Problems with regional products (1 %) | Seasonal products (2 %) |
| | General sensitivity to origin (1 %) | Problems with regional products (2 %) |
| | Fair to the producer (1 %) | Better taste of regional products (2 %) |
| | Better taste of organic products (1 %) | Better taste of organic products (2 %) |
| | | Better taste when origin is known (1 %) |

*Figure 3: Argumentational strand "origin of foods" in the responses to the comparative questions about the* ideal *of a 'good' diet for society and the* practice *of criteria in food choice (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – qualitative survey)*

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For the two comparative questions, the arguments concerning *the origin of foods* mention regional products most frequently (11 % for 'ideal' and 15 % for 'practice'). In the assessment and selection practices, further aspects come into play that relate to regionality: this involves "supporting" regional producers economically (whereby this frequently used verb suggests occasional acts of solidarity or clearing one's conscience rather than a continuous shopping practice) or taking personal responsibility in looking out for seasonality of the products. The fact that the latter attribute was, however, only rarely mentioned spontaneously does not contradict the quantitative data that showed a very strong consensus on this point, but confirms implicitly that seasonal food consumption takes place rather unreflectedly. Other statements include wanting to avoid long transport routes, but also preferring regional products because they represent a more trustworthy, local alternative to organic foodstuffs that are sometimes regarded with suspicion; "good products from one's own garden" receive an emotionally particularly positive rating. The recurring, relativating expression "but maybe I'm just imagining things" suggests partly an assumption without justification, i.e. implicit knowledge, which operates far more strongly via general confidence-building and representations than via cognitive channels. Distrust and approval of organic farming are more or less equally strong. The former refers either to deliberate misleading of customers, e.g.: "There are already surveys that say that much more organic food is being sold than produced" (male, 57, German, Saarland) or to pragmatic doubts about feasibility.

"It's practically impossible to produce organic food [...] The other day, I saw choppers spraying vines with chemicals. The wine grower who's got his vines right next to that vineyard, come on, he's not going to tell me he's producing organic wine, because even when there's only light wind he's going to get his share of that stuff!"[35] (male, 58, French, Lorraine).

For interviewees who, by contrast, attach importance to organically farmed food, it is primarily increased confidence that makes a difference, legitimized with stricter production and quality controls (in particular for eggs, meat as well as fruit and vegetables) – besides a subjectively claimed "better taste". Considerations about the geographical origin of organic foodstuffs, on the other hand, are rare, so that presumably little thought is given to environmental issues – for instance that a locally produced, conventional meat dish can have a smaller carbon footprint than an imported organically farmed vegetarian one (see Carlsson-Kanyama 1998). In that sense, the empirical material shows that the approval – or conversely – the

**35** | Personal translation of: "C'est pratiquement impossible de faire du bio. [...] Je voyais l'autre matin encore des hélicoptères en train de balancer des produits sur les vignes. Celui qui est à côté avec ses vignes, il ne va pas me dire qu'il fait du vin bio, parce qu'avec un peu de vent, il en profite aussi!"

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rejection of organic farming is far more often a self-referential profession of faith than a conscious decision for sustainable action.

Even though almost all of these arguments refer to the foodstuffs themselves, the analysis suggests an additional self-referential dimension also in the other topics discussed in the interviews. Thus long transport routes are not so much criticized because of high $CO^2$ output but rather for the long duration of transport that requires chemical treatment of otherwise perishable products, which is rejected by various interviewees. The same type of reasoning applies to the subjectively-hedonistically experienced "better taste" of food categories with a recognizable origin or from organic farming or regional contexts.

In short, the two main strands of arguments in the ideal and the practice of food-related choices refer to the *self* as well as to the *origin of foods*; in the case of the dietary ideal, the argumentation is primarily self-referential, while in the case of the practice, it is the origin of the foodstuffs that is foregrounded – but what ultimately shows through in both cases is a consistent and pronounced self-referentiality. Within this self-referentiality, comments about the food-related ideal primarily involve attributes for individual health promotion (with the sensitivity to a balanced combination of nutritional values often offset against flavour), while statements about the dietary practice emphasize cost-related criteria on the level of the individual household, followed by hedonistically oriented assessments.

## Identifications with the Spatial Materiality of Foods

The tendency that arguments referring to the food sector are less relevant in the constitution of the subject analysed here than directly self-referential ones can be also be observed with the question about the *subjective importance of the geographical origin* of foods.

73 % of the directly elicited statements about origin emphasize its importance and thus the centrality of spatial constructions. But there are also cases of rejection (both verbalized indifference as well as mistrust – together 11 %) and self-referentiality (9 %). The self-referential arguments involve in particular the purely hedonistically motivated taste of foods, followed by requirements for freshness, for a low level of chemical treatment as well for the attribute "good value for money". In the end, taste is the decisive factor for eating decisions, even though it is often described in an unspecific and unsystematic fashion:

"I have to admit that there's a sauce from Australia that I like very much. I know it's a sauce that may have travelled some 15,000 km, but I just like this sauce, so I'm going to buy it [...] But if it's about buying leek, OK, I'd prefer to get my leek from the farmer around the corner

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rather than one that maybe comes from Italy. In that case, I might actually pay attention [to the origin]"[36] (male, 44, Belgian, Wallonia).

"When I drive down this road here [...] and there's someone selling fresh-picked strawberries, of course I'll buy them. Because their quality is usually better than what I get in a shop, where they have them coming from Spain or wherever. They may be fifty cent cheaper, but then they already go bad after just one day in the fridge. But in general I don't really pay attention to these things" [37] (female, 48, German, Saarland).

These interview passages also show that purchasing decisions are very differentiated depending on the foodstuff and individual hedonistic preference, but far more unreflected – and at the same inconsistent and unsure – regarding their production context.

But the argument chiefly advanced for the subjective importance of origin shows that the majority of interviewees equate "origin" with "regionality" (62 %), if one considers all the motifs of statements on regionality combined (regional products: 23 %; intention of buying regional products: 15 %; better taste of regional products: 13 %; problems with regional products: 8 %; fair towards the producer: 3 %). Despite this striking numerical and discursive prominence of regional products, their approval is far more moderate in terms of *content*. On the one hand, this becomes evident in the *potentialities* that are mentioned in this context; be it a simple *intention* which as a concern is not crucial enough to be followed up consistently (the expression "we try..." appears frequently here) or be it that an intention cannot be carried out due to specific *problems*: not all food categories can be produced locally; regionally produced foodstuffs are not always easily recognizable; even though it would be desirable to support local producers, these are said to be hardly able to work economically due to "European" guidelines and regulations. Some examples:

"We do try, mind you. [...] It' always better to buy seasonal vegetables, and not strawberries in winter, for instance. Of course. But if there was a super bargain ... I don't know, melons in winter – I don't think that would happen very often – then I can't guarantee you that we wouldn't buy them anyway, just because we know that this melon has travelled 1,000 km

**36** | Eigene Übersetzung von: "Je ne vous cache pas, j'aime bien une sauce qui vient d'Australie. Je sais que c'est une sauce qui a fait peut-être 15,000 km, mais j'aime bien cette sauce-là, donc j'achèterai cette sauce. [...] Mais pour acheter des poireaux, OK, je préfèrerais acheter le poireau qui vient de la ferme d'à côté que celui qui vient peut-être d'Italie. Donc là, je vais peut-être regarder."

**37** | "Wenn ich [...] hier die Straße herunterfahre und da steht einer mit frisch vom Feld geernteten Erdbeeren, kaufe ich die, ganz klar. Weil die meistens von der Qualität her besser sind wie wenn ich in den Laden gehe, und da habe ich welche, die aus Spanien kommen, oder sonst wo her. Die sind dann zwar fünfzig Cent billiger, dann habe ich sie aber auch einen Tag im Kühlschrank und sie sind schon hinüber. Aber generell gucke ich nicht danach."

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by plane and produced a lot of carbon dioxide pollution. I think, at least for me personally, that this ecological mentality is not all that ingrained yet. But at least we're aware that one should buy seasonal and local products, if possible. […] Maybe with vegetables, the origin is often printed on the package, but with other pre-packed things, like cornflakes, you don't know whether they're from the USA or whether they were produced in the Netherlands or at the factory round the corner"[38] (male, 44, Belgian, Wallonia).

"One should really promote [regional products]. Maybe one could play the Greater Region system in some way or other? I mean, subsidizing local products that are consumed locally. […] A little north of Metz there's a village, it's called Gorze, and until three months ago, the only raw milk cheese of the region was produced there – the *Tomme de Gorze* – which was sold in 15 or more shops in Metz on the market and in some supermarkets. The other day, I asked for *Tomme de Gorze* and at the counter they said: 'No, it doesn't exist anymore.' […] The producer decided to quit because he had to meet the European standards. […] He couldn't afford to […] continue producing his cheese. So now there's no longer any *Tomme de Gorze* that was produced some 15 or 20 km from here"[39] (female, 44, French, Lorraine).

On the other hand, meat and dairy products in particular (especially the Luxembourg brand *Luxlait*) as well as fruit and vegetables (often associated with seasonality) are mentioned in connection with regionality. The reasons for these

**38** | Personal translation of: "On essaie quand-même […]. C'est toujours mieux d'acheter des légumes de saison et de ne pas prendre des fraises en hiver, par exemple. Evidemment. Maintenant, s'il y a une super-promo sur… je ne sais pas moi, un melon en hiver – je ne pense pas que ça arrive très souvent –, je ne vous garantis pas qu'on ne le fera pas, parce qu'on a dans l'idée que le melon a peut-être fait 1,000 km en avion et que ça pollue beaucoup en $CO^2$. Je pense, en tout cas pour ma part, qu'on n'a pas encore cette mentalité écologiste très, très ancrée. Mais en tout cas, on a conscience qu'il faut acheter des produits de saison et des produits locaux si possible. […] Peut-être pour les légumes, il est souvent marqué la provenance, mais pour d'autres produits préemballés, vous achetez des cornflakes, vous ne savez pas s'ils viennent des Etats-Unis ou s'ils ont été produits en Hollande ou dans l'usine d'à côté."

**39** | Personal translation of: "Mais il faudrait réellement promouvoir… […] On pourrait peut-être faire un truc d'ailleurs de la Grande Région, hein ? C'est-à-dire, voilà, on met une espèce de subvention aux produits locaux consommés localement. […] Il y a un village un peu au-dessus de Metz qui s'appelle Gorze qui fabriquait jusqu'il y a trois mois le seul fromage au lait cru artisanal du coin qui s'appelait la tomme de Gorze, qui était vendu dans une quinzaine, peut-être plus, de points de vente à Metz, au marché, dans quelques supermarchés etc. […] Là […], j'ai demandé la tomme de Gorze et mon fromager, il m'a dit: 'Non, ça n'existe plus.' […] Le monsieur a décidé d'arrêter parce qu'il devait se mettre aux normes européennes […]. Il n'a pas eu les moyens […] pour continuer à produire son fromage. Voilà, donc, il n'y a plus de tomme de Gorze qui était donc à 15, 20 kilomètres d'ici."

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preferences are given hesitatingly and it is particularly with the generalizing judgements that the national context is instrumental in building trust:

"With ham [...] we prefer to buy products from Luxembourg rather that any from Belgium or France or Italy, because I think these [local] products are just as good, and you also know ... OK, you don't know everything, but at least I'm pretty confident that these are handled in a decent and clean way. Something you can't be sure about with products from elsewhere"[40] (male, 64, Luxembourger, Luxembourg).

"Five or six years ago there was a reportage [*Envoyé Spécial*] about Spanish vegetables, I'll never eat Spanish vegetables again in my life! [...] And I'll be on the alert, because [...] when you hear how they go about it, [...] with those masses of pesticides and chemicals they put on them, to make the vegetables grow all inflated, no! And the stuff has no taste whatsoever, no taste whatsoever! [...] Now I try buying French, if it's not too exaggerated"[41] (female, 49, French, Lorraine).

A number of interviews reveal the influence of informative and critical TV programmes whose information is not absorbed in a very nuanced fashion and which form the basis for generalized judgements that have a long-term impact on practices. In these cases, scepticism often concerns chemical contamination in conventional agriculture, but also labels and certificates in the organic and fair trade sector (which reduces willingness to pay a higher price for such foodstuffs). What is invariably mentioned is the individual sensory check via the taste (in the two last quoted examples "just as good" or "no taste whatsoever") or the opposite, i.e. that an individual sensory check is not possible (for instance that one cannot detect any difference in taste between organic foods and others from conventional farming). Interestingly, this mistrust refers to organic farming *versus* conventional agriculture, understood as binary opposites, but almost never to regional products whose identification as 'local' seems to leave them 'untouched' by these production contexts. In cases of doubt, they are not confronted with self-referential and generalized mistrust; instead, specific problems are addressed in

**40** | Personal translation of: "Wann et ëm Hame geet [...], dann huele mer éischter eis Lëtzebuerger Produkter, wéi aus der Belsch oder aus Frankräich, oder aus Italien, well ech fannen déi Produkter si genau sou gutt, an et weess een och, bon et weess een net alles, mee ech menge mol zumindest ze wëssen, dass dat anstänneg a propper behandelt gëtt. Wat een anerwäerts net ëmmer sou genau weess."

**41** | Personal translation of: "Il y a cinq, six ans, ils ont fait un reportage [à *Envoyé Spécial*] sur les légumes espagnols, de ma vie, je ne mangerai plus jamais un légume espagnol! [...] Et je fais attention, parce que justement [...], quand on nous explique comment c'est fait, [...] avec le nombre d'insecticides, de produits qu'ils mettent pour les faire gonfler et tout, non! Et en plus ils n'ont aucun goût, ils n'ont aucun goût ! [...] Et maintenant j'essaie, quand c'est pas trop exagéré, j'essaie d'acheter français."

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a more reflected and empathetic way. Only when regional products are discussed for their subjectively perceived "better taste", are they expressed in unequivocally positive and emotionally charged terms, e.g.: "The local products, and they are also the best!" (female, 51, Polish, Luxembourg) or:

"-For which reason do you prefer produce from the producer, as you say? -The taste! -So it's the taste and not the place of origin? -Oh yes! And the quality of the meat. You notice the difference between a piece of lamb that you can buy at the *Carrefour* [supermarket] [...] and one which I buy 500m down the road from the local farmer. No comparison, absolutely no comparison!"[42] (male, 58, French, Lorraine).

### 5.2.3 Conclusion

This case study has focused on constitutions of the subject in daily dealings with an individually interpreted 'responsible' diet, with particular attention to the specific self-relations behind the discursive practices, the (implicit) knowledge mobilized in the process and the attributions of meaning of the consumed foodstuffs' geographical origin. These appear in particular as hedonistic-individual subjectivations which only in the context of ideal *versus* practice, elicited on a contrastive basis, show a correlation with subjectifications for the promotion of health – but noticeably few overlaps with those regarding more broadly conceived sustainability concerns. This means in effect that a 'responsible' diet is interpreted on the level of individual identity as 'appropriate for the maintenance of one's own health' at the most, and rarely as a collective identification with ethically and politically motivated action. Also with arguments that refer explicitly to the food system in general and the geographical origin in particular, it is in the end the inherent self-referentiality that is decisive for shaping everyday practices. The geographical origin of foodstuffs, particularly in the form of regionally produced products (whatever size that region may have), has in the subjectivations shown itself to be a category that generates the most identity and trust, compared to the forms of organic farming and conventional agriculture, which are perceived as being unrelated to the former and as oppositional to each other. However, this prioritization is, again, subject to the price-quality ratio, individually regarded as crucially relevant.

In order to pinpoint plural yet daily practiced understandings of sustainability, food consumption was presented as an interface of social, cultural and institutional contexts, by focusing in particular on the interviewees' practices and sets of argument, which are additionally influenced by more general, partly competing

**42** | Personal translation of: "-Et pour quelle raison préférez-vous les produits du producteur, comme vous dites? -Le goût! -Donc c'est surtout le goût et pas la provenance? -Ah oui! Et la qualité de la viande. Vous voyez la différence entre un bout de mouton que vous allez prendre chez *Carrefour* [...] et puis celui que je prends 500 m au dessus dans la ferme. Ça n'a rien à voir, rien à voir!"

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social discourses on 'good' nutrition, health, ecology etc. The attention to the "daily life that people lead"[43] (Kudera/Voß 2000) highlights the potential for action as well as for inhibition within a combination of various constraints that take effect through the interplay of different areas of everyday life. The analytical sensitivity for the interviewees' specific, practicable prioritizations aims at an understanding that considers those aspects of the polysemic concept of sustainability that are relevant to daily eating practices and reveals food-related modes of governmental reflexivity in border regions.

## 5.3 Gender Spaces

*Julia Maria Zimmermann and Christel Baltes-Löhr*

Gender-specific attribution and appropriation of spaces is traditionally seen as constituted along binary lines: the man is assigned the exterior space, the public sphere of work and economy, but also the geographical space, and foreign realms. The woman's domain, by contrast, is the interior space, the private sphere at home or else the virtual space of relationships (see Wucherpfennig 2010). Both sexes appropriate the spaces attributed to them. In processes such as these, both the subject and the spatialized materiality is transformed. This creates genderized 'regions' in the subjects' living environment as well as spatialized subjects of a gender discourse.

Within a pluridimensional concept of identity in which identity markers are seen as intersectional, we define 'gender' as a social construction that manifests itself in its dimensions as a physical, psychological, social and sexual disposition and is considered to be modifiable as well as plural (see Baltes-Löhr 2014). The actors are actively and discursively involved in the construction process and find themselves in an interdependent relationship of attribution and appropriation.[44] In much the same way that we have defined gender, we posit an understanding of 'space' that defines space as a materiality (physical space), as a social space, as an abstract, virtual or experienced space (see also section 2.2). Space, too, is considered to be modifiable and plural.

In this case study, we will examine the attributions actors use to create spaces through discursive-performative acts, the spaces appropriated thus and the effects that attribution and appropriation processes in turn have on subjects.

While the boundary between the genderized spaces is also permeable to some degree (see Baltes-Löhr 2000: 515), it nevertheless has an unmistakeable reality. Thus the interviews conducted in the context of the present case study (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – qualitative survey) show significant gender-

**43** | Personal translation of: "alltägliche Lebensführung."

**44** | When in the following we speak of 'women' and 'men', it should be understood that we are referring to representatives of subject forms and not to pre-social 'natural' entities.

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